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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(pulowa)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Pére Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikoukou* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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war but were used only for thrusting, but this is contradicted by Porter's description just given. The sling, *maka*, made of sennit, hair, or woven grass, was a most important weapon for the warrior (fig. 12, *d*); it was carried bound on his head or on his hands when not in use. Sling stones *(ke'a pehi hua)* were oval stones specially selected for their size, polished by rubbing, and carried in a net suspended from the waist (24, p. 87). *Kahuka ke'a* were selected stones used for throwing with the hand—the accuracy of natives today in hitting the mark with a stone is astonishing. A weapon called *ake henua* consisted of a round piece of wood, pointed at both ends, carried attached to the warrior's wrist by means of a string passed around its center. According to my informant on Nuku Hiva, this weapon, which was thrown at the enemy in battle, was carried only by war leaders.

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War Rites

While the local tribal god was the deity to whom sacrifices were actually offered, Tu was the patron of war on both Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva, all those taking part in the ceremonial associated with war—that is, the inspirational priest, the ceremonial priest, and the temple assistants (and possibly the warriors)—were known as *ati* Tu (*ati*, relations, or people of; Tu, god of war) (7).

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The duties of inspirational and ceremonial priests in war were various. According to Père Jean (19) they fasted seven days before beginning a great war. It was the function of the inspirational priest to inform the chief as to whether the tribal god was favorable to plans for war, and it was he who demanded human sacrifices in the name of the god. It appears that some inspirational priests accompanied the war party to the scene of action, while others were in the habit of remaining at the sacred place during the engagement. So far as I know, however, the ceremonial priest never accompanied the warriors. When a great war was planned, the inspirational priest consulted his god as to whether he were in favor and how many victims were required. If the god were favorable victims must first be sought to be offered in the rite which preceded going to war. Those who bore the victims to the feast place were covered with green leaves torn in small strips. As they went, the carriers from time to time cried out altogether: "N. . ., grant us the defeat of M. . . ." When they had arrived at the sacred place of the god invoked, they cried: "N. . ., here is a victim, your present, grant us defeat of M. . . ." The god responded through the mouth of his inspirational priest, saying *"Ua hika"* (They are defeated) (7).

Before the fighters went to the warriors' house, they bathed in the sea. This made them *tapu*, removing any influences due to association with womankind.

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such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of